

Message Text

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AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0314

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: OREP (BARTLETT, DEWEY F.)

SUBJECT: CODEL BARTLETT VISIT TO LUSAKA

1. SENATOR BARTLETT AND LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT RUTH SPENT LESS THAN FOUR HOURS ON THE GROUND BETWEEN PLANES IN LUSAKA FEB 5 DURING WHICH THEY HAD ONE AND ONE HALF HOUR CONVERSATION WITH FONMIN BANDA AND HIS PERM SECY NGONDA, PAID A TWENTY MINUTE COURTESY CALL ON PRES KAUNDA AT STATE HOUSE, AND GAVE SHORT PRESS CONFERENCE BEFORE BOARDING PLANE FOR LONDON EN ROUTE BACK TO WASHINGTON.

2. IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH KAUNDA AND BANDA, SENATOR SOUGHT ZAMBIAN REACTION AND COMMENT ON CUT-OFF OF US ASSISTANCE FOR ANGOLA; AND SIGNIFICANCE OF SOVIET AND CUBAN INTERVENTION. HE ALSO ASKED IF RESUMPTION OF US ASSISTANCE TO ANGOLA NECESSARY, WOULD BE WELCOMED BY ZAMBIA, AND COULD ULTIMATELY TURN TIDE AWAY FROM WAR TOWARD NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

3. KAUNDA OF COURSE DISAPPOINTED WITH SENATE CUT-OFF OF ASSISTANCE BUT SAID IT WAS NOT FOR HIM TO CRITICIZE. HE
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TOLD SENATOR THAT MPLA INVITATION TO SOVIETS AND

CUBANS TO INTERVENE GAVE RIGHT TO OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES TO INVITE OTHER FOREIGN POWERS TO INTERVENE. KAUNDA SAID ZAMBIA "WOULD NOT CASTIGATE" OTHER POWERS FOR FOLLOW-ON INTERVENTION WITH EXCEPTION OF SOUTH AFRICA BECAUSE OF ITS APARTHEID POLICIES.

4. KAUNDA DWELT FOR SEVERAL MINUTES ON OFFENSE TO ZAMBIA OF BOLD SOVIET INTERVENTION IN HIS COUNTRY'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. SAID HE HAD CONDEMNED THIS OPENLY FROM STATE HOUSE AND "PUBLIC WOULD BE HEARING MORE ON THIS SUBJECT" AS SOON AS GOVT HAD COLLECTED AND ANALYZED ALL FACTS IN CASE. (KAUNDA'S REMARKS SUGGESTED GRZ MIGHT HAVE IN MIND POSSIBLE DEPORTATION OF SOME OF ESTIMATED 150 SOVIET PROFESSIONALS AND TECHNICIANS IN ZAMBIA, OR POSSIBLE PNG-ING OF ESTIMATED 30 ACCREDITED SOVIET DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL HERE.) KAUNDA AGREED WITH SENATOR THAT SOVIETS WERE EXPANSIONIST IN AFRICA. KAUNDA, LIKE BANDA EARLIER, SAID HE UNWILLING, BECAUSE HE CLAIMED TO UNINFORMED, TO COMMENT IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR'S CLOSE QUESTIONING HOW ZAMBIANS FELT ABOUT SOVIET BASES IN SOMALIA.

5. KAUNDA AGREED UNITA COULD USE MORE HELP FROM US. SAID ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE FROM WHATEVER SOURCE WAS NECESSARY TO RESTORE SEMBLANCE OF MILITARY BALANCE AND; CHECK MPLA'S DRIVE FOR TOTAL MILITARY VICTORY; IT ALSO ESSENTIAL TO BRING MPLA BACK TO NEGOTIATING TABLE IN SEARCH OF POLITICAL SOLUTION. SENATOR PRESSED KAUNDA HARD FOR AN ANSWER AS TO WHETHER ZAMBIA WOULD BE WILLING TO STAND BY TO ASSIST WITH DELIVERIES OF MATERIEL AND EQUIPMENT TO UNITA, SINCE IT OBVIOUS CUBANS COULD AND WOULD CLOSE ALL ANGOLAN PORTS. KAUNDA SLOW TO REPLY; FINALLY SAID IT DID NOT RPT NOT SEEM SUCH A COURSE WOULD BE NECESSARY AS AIRPORTS OF HUAMBO AND SILVA PORTO AVAILABLE. EARLIER WHEN SAME QUESTION PUT TO FONMIN BANDA, HE RESPONDED QUICKLY TO SERVE AS CONDUIT FOR MATERIAL ASSISTANCE TO SAVIMBI AS IT VERY LIKELY WOULD INVITE ECONOMIC RETALIATION AGAINST ZAMBIA AT A TIME WHEN DOMESTIC ECONOMY COULD STAND NO MORE STRAINS. SAID IF ZAMBIA OPENLY HELPED UNITA AGAINST

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MPLA, LATTER COULD USE ITS INFLUENCE ON MOZAMBIQUE AND TANZANIA TO AGGRAVATE ALREADY DIFFICULT TRANSPORT PROBLEMS.

6. IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH BANDA, SENATOR PAINS-TAKINGLY REVIEWED HIS PRELIMINARY THINKING ON HOW A CONSENSUS COULD BE DEVELOPED WITHIN US CONGRESS AND AMERICAN PUBLIC FOR A VIABLE CONTAINMENT POLICY WHICH COULD BE APPLIED AGAINST SOVIETS IN AFRICA, STARTING

WITH ANGOLA. SENATOR TOLD FONMIN HE DOUBTED CONGRESS PREPARED GO BEYOND LEVEL OF PREVIOUS ASSISTANCE GRANTED FNLA/UNITA. CONGRESS COULD GRANT (A) SAME AMOUNT (POSSIBLE BUT NOT LIKELY); (B) SOMETHING LESS, WHICH WOULD ENABLE SAVIMBI TO CARRY OUT HIS GUERRILLA RESISTANCE PLAN (MORE LIKELY; OR (C) IT COULD VOTE NO RPT NO FURTHER ASSISTANCE. HE INDICATED LAST WOULD BE A MISTAKE AND NOT IN KEEPING WITH US WORLD RESPONSIBILITIES, DECLARED PRINCIPLES, OR IN US LONG TERM INTERESTS IN AFRICA. BANDA EXPRESSED SERIOUS MISGIVINGS ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL DISPOSITION TO ASSIST ANGOLA UNLESS EXTRAORDINARILY PERSUASIVE EFFORT MOUNTED IN US. IN HIS SUBSEQUENT PRESS CONFERENCE AT AIRPORT SENATOR WAS MORE CATEGORIC THAN HE HAD BEEN IN PRIVATE IN DOUBTING CONGRESS WOULD VOTE SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE.

7. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS TO AND FROM AIRPORT SENATOR TOLD ME HE BELIEVED ADMINISTRATION HAD NOT YET DONE ENOUGH IN WORKING DIRECTLY WITH KEY CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS TO GAIN THEIR SUPPORT FOR A BROAD POLICY TO CONTAIN SOVIETS IN AFRICA. SAID ADMINISTRATION HAD CRITICIZED CONGRESS FOR VOTING AGAINST ANGOLAN ASSISTANCE BUT HAD NOT YET GOTTEN DOWN TO WORKING OUT DETAILS OF A DRAFT POLICY WHICH HAD CHANCE OF SUPPORT. HE REALIZED THIS WOULD TAKE TIME WHILE NEED FOR ASSISTANCE WAS URGENT. SENATOR SAID HE INTENDED TO SPEAK TO PRESIDENT ABOUT THIS NEED ON HIS RETURN. MEANWHILE, PERHAPS BEST CONGRESS COULD DO TOWARD STABILIZING ANGOLAN SITUATION WOULD BE PIECEMEAL HELP AT LEVEL PERHAPS BELOW PREVIOUS ASSISTANCE. SAVIMBI TOLD HIM EVEN THIS LOWER LEVEL WOULD MAINTAIN UNITA RESISTANCE AGAINST MPLA.

8. APPOINTMENT WITH KAUNDA WAS LAST-MINUTE ARRANGEMENT
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MADE WITH ASSIST FROM FONMIN BANDA WHEN IT LEARNED SENATOR DISAPPOINTED DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS TO FIELD HAD NOT EXPLICITLY REQUESTED APPOINTMENT WITH CHIEF OF STATE. KAUNDA'S MEETING WITH SENATOR WAS APPARENTLY FIRST WITH ANYONE OUTSIDE GOVT AND PARTY IN FOUR DAYS, AS PRESIDENT HAS BEEN CONFINED AND UNDER MEDICAL TREATMENT TO REMOVE FOREIGN PARTICLE FROM HIS EYE. KAUNDA IN SPORTS DRESS, WEARING DARK GLASSES, BUT IN GOOD SPIRITS. HE OBVIOUSLY PLEASED WITH STAND SENATOR HAD TAKEN AGAINST TUNNEY AMENDMENT AND EMPHASIZED NEED TO APPLY MORAL PRINCIPLES--AS ZAMBIA DOING--IN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD ANGOLA.
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